



Fightback

Struggle, Solidarity, Socialism

VOICES OF WOMEN AND GENDER MINORITIES



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Arohanui ki a koutou.

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About Fightback

Under our current system, democracy consists of a vote every 3 years. Most of our lives are lived under dictatorship, the dictatorship of bosses and WINZ case managers. Fightback stands for a system in which our workplaces, our schools, our universities are run democratically, for social need rather than private profit. Fightback participates in the MANA Movement, whose stated mission is to bring “rangatiratanga to the poor, the powerless and the dispossessed.” Capitalism was imposed in Aotearoa through colonisation, and the fight for indigenous self-determination is intimately connected with the fight for an egalitarian society. We also maintain an independent Marxist organisation outside of parliament, to offer a vision of a world beyond the parliamentary capitalist system. Fightback stands against all forms of oppression. We believe working-class power, the struggle of the majority for self-determination, is the basis for ending all forms of oppression. However, we also recognise that daily inequities such as sexism must be addressed here and now, not just after the revolution. Fightback is embedded in a range of struggles on the ground; including building a fighting trade union movement, movements for gender and sexual liberation, and anti-racism. Fightback also publishes a monthly magazine, and a website, to offer a socialist perspective on ongoing struggles. Fightback stands for struggle, solidarity and socialism.

A SON SAMOA FALENAOTI MOKALAGI

Content Warning: sexual assault, domestic violence

Yesterday a son of Samoa was jailed 25 years after the fact I sat next to your daughter Samoa Birthed in Aotearoa	I READ OUT ALOUD she felt disgusting I READ OUT ALOUD she felt she was a whore I READ OUT ALOUD she wanted to kill herself every day Her constant pre-occupation I READ ALOUD she survived BY taking drugs BY drinking alcohol BY seeing endless counsellors SHE leaves town SHE has un-lasting relationships SHE does not trust any Samoan man Samoa I READ ALOUD he gave her gifts, and money Received in silence and guilt An exchange for her silence He told her Samoa that no one would believe her I READ OUT ALOUD she just lay there.	The judge said out aloud there is no other suitable penalty but jail He leaves the dock assisted He is visibly stunned Samoa I HEARD ALOUD that after 25 years he had changed his ways I HEARD after 25 years he read his Bible every day I HEARD after 25 years he should be allowed to stay at home Under detention THE JUDGE SAID ALOUD there is no other suitable penalty, but jail. THE FOG LIFTS from the head of your daughter Samoa, who is born in Aotearoa. SHE is heard, SHE is seen, SHE is believed and some responsibility for her is taken SHE frees her mother, her siblings And the process of restoration of the spaces that were trampled The spaces defiled Starts I CELEBRATE her courage Samoa HER generosity And her wholeness Samoa Your daughter Samoa Born in Aotearoa Ma lou faaaloalo lava.
I READ OUT ALOUD the impact of this son UP ON your daughter Samoa UP ON her mother UP ON her siblings UP ON her lineage UP ON her genealogy I heard at the age of 5 Samoa she lay on top of her mother to protect her from the heavy steel coffee table being rained on her by your son. The memory recounted vividly as if it were only yesterday She was 5, her sibling 2 when they took responsibility for the safety of their mother from your son Samoa, their father. They were all 3 hospitalised Their records read that there had been an accident in their home and the 2 year old's injuries were sustained as a consequence of the toddler falling head first into the fireplace. It was read in Court Samoa that by the age of 11 she knew what oral sex felt like, what digital penetration and lubrication were.		

RESISTANCE

announcement has set the company as the social landlord for the Tāmaki area.

Glen Innes is being gentrified, facilitated by the state, despite the language of ‘urban renewal’, ‘revitalisation’, ‘redevelopment’ as a discourse of deception used by the developers. Since the redevelopment, land values in Glen Innes have increased from \$400,000 to over \$700,000 (QV 2015), tenants have been evicted and houses have been removed, sold or demolished to make way for a mixed community.

The language around the gentrification of Glen Innes, and the housing crisis more generally involves a covering over of the process of capital accumulation with a publicly acceptable discourse. The language that frames the destruction of Glen Innes as urban renewal, and the privatisation of state houses as creating more affordable homes, attempts to create a cohesive whole in which community

is reduced to particular stakeholders and the solution to a crisis in housing affordability is reduced to selling state homes. This attempt at creating a cohesive image of renewal has been fractured by the resistance of tenants that expose the contradictions in the logic put forward by so-called experts.

Tenants in the community of Glen Innes formed resistance against gentrification, in order to defend their homes and community. The Tāmaki Housing Group is made up of predominantly Māori and Pasifika kuia, who after receiving letters from HNZC in 2012 formed a collective which has engaged in direct action, protests, information campaigns and petitions to parliament. The developers and policy makers believed that their careful use of language around the redevelopment would prevent resistance, but the Tāmaki Housing Group have proven that they know exactly what the redevelopment project attempts to erase- the displacement of the poor for the profit of the rich.

Resistance has never been easy. Members of the group were injured in battles with police over the removal of houses, many are exhausted from remaining staunch for over three years, however the group still meets every Tuesday to resist the war on state housing in their community and in the rest of Aotearoa. Under the kaupapa of “we shall not be moved,” the group have formed a powerful counter-narrative to the discourse around the housing crisis, and are building the possibilities for a resistance movement which is fundamentally anti-capitalist and centred on community self-determination.

Save Our Homes.

For more information on the Tamaki Housing Group, visit our Facebook page.

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CONTENTS

Editorial > Kassie Hartendorp
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6 Not All Men
> Isabella Wallace

8 Judgmentality and the “NEUTRAL, OBJECTIVE” voice of whiteness > MZ

10 Chatting “Pasifika” and “Feminism”
> Malia Grace

13 We talk a lot about the struggle > Siân Torrington

16 COMIC > MZ

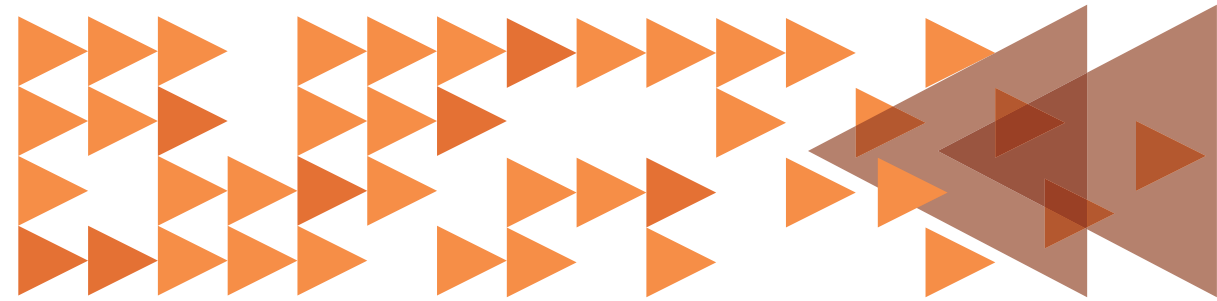
25 Finding a Future for Women in Green Technology > Maria

27 NOT ABOUT THE HEART OF DARKNESS: WHORING AS A PROFESSION AT THE END OF CAPITALISM
> Clio the Whore

31 Marxism and the Maori Sovereignty Movement A Maori communist perspective
> Huriana Kopeke-Te Aho

36 A Celebration of Whores at Work - On Being a “Good Ally” and Supporting Workplace Organising
> Vita

38 Enclosure and Resistance in the State Housing Struggle
> Save Our Homes



17 Policing the colonial project of Aotearoa, New Zealand
> Sandra Dickson

22 Organising Against All Oppressions > Kim McBreen

34 Your Problematic Fave: Confronting friends about abuse
> Anne Russell

42 A Son Samoa
> Falenaoti Mokalagi

EDITORIAL

When I think of radical politics, grass-roots organising and transformative actions, I always think of the women and gender minorities I know, who are leading, supporting and working hard, both out front and behind the scenes. Fierce wahine, fearless whakawahine, fa’afafine and transwomen, those who are staunch in their refusal to fit within the gender binary, women with big ideas, bigger hearts, and unrivalled strength and compassion.

When I look at socialist or political media, I have struggled to find these voices present. There could be a million reasons for why this is, however I know it is not for a lack of women and gender minorities wanting to change the world and to end capitalism. We cannot afford to have this absence of strong leftwing political voices from our communities. At the time of writing, the Human Rights Commission had released an ‘Equality at Work’ report showing that across the board, in terms of unemployment, pay and leadership roles, women are still underrepresented. Māori and Pasifika women and women with disabilities are still facing the harshest marginalisation of all. Transgender women and gender minorities are not even mentioned. More than ever, we need analysis and action that comes from a

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GLEN INNES EXPERIMENT

renters and are likely to be displaced from their communities in search of affordable accommodation.

The transfer of state housing to community and charity groups materialises in the built landscape through urban policy, which aims at radically transforming state housing communities into ‘mixed’ tenure communities that consist of private, affordable and social housing. Leading up to the sale of state housing was a significant disinvestment in the stock (Johnson 2013). This devaluation, coupled with an increase in land values, creates the ideal conditions for a privatisation of the stock into a new market and a gentrification process of state housing communities. Marxist geographer Neil Smith (2010) argues that when there is a gap between the ground-rent of a particular geographical space and the potential ground-rent, it creates the ideal conditions for capital to move in and redevelop, capitalising on the speculated land value increases. There are state housing communities around

Aotearoa situated on valuable land which are becoming ideal for state-led gentrification in the name of urban renewal. Housing New Zealand in their urban renewal framework argue that ‘No community will have more than 15 percent of state housing presence’ (Housing New Zealand 2013, p. 10).

Urban Renewal is the language used as a disguise for state-led gentrification. The government’s urban renewal programme is premised on the idea of mixed communities, an international trend which aims to have a mix of tenure in the same community. The logic of social mix is premised on solving the problems associated with the concentration of poverty such as crime and anti-social behaviour, however international research (Bridge, Butler, Lees 2012) has suggested that it is a front for state-led gentrification of communities seen as having high land values. The classical liberal rhetoric behind social mix is that the middle-class that move into these communities will bring with them resources and teach

the poor how to better live, but what occurs in social mix is the erasure of the poor all together. This state-led gentrification process is occurring in the East Auckland community of Glen Innes.

The redevelopment of Glen Innes is a social experiment in the rolling out of state housing and urban policy. In 2011, state housing tenants in Glen Innes received a letter outlining a project which would see 156 state homes replaced by 260 new properties, with 78 social houses and 39 market-based affordable houses built by private development company Creating Communities. Prior to this, the Tāmaki Regeneration Programme was set up in 2007 to facilitate urban renewal in the community. It was later transformed into the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company under the Heads of Agreement signed between the New Zealand Government and the Auckland Council in 2012. This company was originally the face of regeneration in the community, however a recent

SOCIAL HOUSING REFORMS AND SOCIAL MIXING POLICY



In order to have an understanding of what is happening in Glen Innes, it is important to outline the policy shifts that facilitate capital accumulation in the community. The National government have implemented policy and legislative changes that significantly alter the landscape of state housing in Aotearoa.

The fifth National-led government's solutions to the housing crisis are centred on selling state houses, restructuring the social housing sector and redeveloping state owned land. The social housing reforms that began in 2013 have created the conditions for privatisation of state housing, and rest on the liberal capitalist logic of government avoiding interference in the market in order to facilitate competition in the creation of affordable housing. This follows international public housing reforms which posit privatisation as a solution to a crisis in unaffordability, a 'solution' that actually drives up house prices and leads to the displacement of low income tenants to the fringes of the city.

The government argues that selling

state housing to Community Housing Providers (CHPs) will improve the conditions of state housing, however in the UK these stock transfers have led to an increase in rents, a lack of maintenance, and eventually full privatisation. This is because many of these community groups do not have the financial resources necessary to sustain the housing stock, as seen with the Salvation Army rejecting the government's offer to buy stock (Feek 2015). The extension of the Income Related Rent Subsidy (IRRS) to community housing groups involves the direct transfer of wealth from the government to the private market.

The privatisation of state housing has been coupled with Reviewable Tenancies (RT) which involves reviewing state tenants on their eligibility for social housing based on their income and other factors such as room to tenant ratio. If tenants are no longer eligible they will either be transferred or forced into the private market. In an economic landscape where rents are increasing and wages as well as benefits remain stagnant, state tenants will be placed in competition with private

place of feminism, socialism, decolonisation and intersectionality.

Earlier last year, one of our male comrades came up with an idea to address the lack of women writing for this magazine. To provide a practical response to the issue of women and gender minorities facing higher barriers to work and live, he proposed that we crowdsource some funding to pay contributors for their work. While this may be a small one-off payment, we want women and gender minorities to know that their ideas are valued on the socialist left. We want to acknowledge the unpaid work that is done year after year, whether in the home, workplace, whānau, family, organisations or activism. We aimed to give back to those women and gender minorities who believe in challenging this flawed socio-economic system and to offer fuel in the ongoing fight.

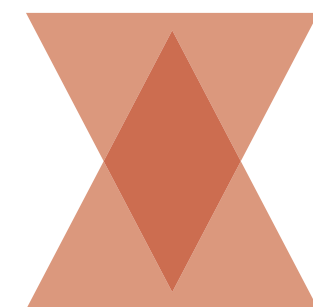
For a niche radical magazine, we were excited to receive so many pitches and donations, and I truly have been honoured to gather these articles, stories and poetry. We exceeded our funding goal, and are proud to say that (despite the fee we owe to Pledgeme), the money we raised will be split entirely between the contributors. In this issue, I wanted to provide a space that

navigated the personal and political without resorting to separate boxes that compartmentalise our experiences and struggles. To welcome the complexities that are inevitable when it comes to gender, sex, race and class, acknowledge the personal and structural trauma that shadows/overshadows us, and paddle this waka into a place that can see, feel and touch new worlds and true transformation. This work is only one part of a longer history that looks back and traces forward, and only the tip of the maunga when it comes to radical work in our communities. We hope you find new whakaa-ro in these pages, and we encourage you to keep writing, speaking, acting, gathering and dreaming to organise for an end to all oppression and exploitation at the hands of colonisation and capitalism.

Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora te manuhiri. Nāu te rākau, nāku te rākau, ka mate te hoariri.

Your food basket and my food basket will satisfy the guest. Your weapon and my weapon will dispose of the enemy.

Kassie Hartendorp - Editor



NOT ALL MEN

Content Warning: rape culture, slutshaming
[Illustration] Emily Brown



It's Monday. I'm going home at 6pm and a middle-aged man and a teenage boy are the only people left on the bus with me. I'm automatically scared, scared because of my own anatomy. I wonder how old I was when I realised that my own body was going to be the cause of the constant anxiety and fear I feel in situations like this. I get off at the last stop and the older man smiles at me while following me up the street. His smile drips, drips, drips and my heart is pounding, pounding, pounding. He turns off down another road, but I run the rest of the way home.

Not all men.

I'm at home on a Tuesday; beginning to plan the travels I want to go on next year. I dream of wandering the streets and meeting strangers. I just can't wait to escape the city I've lived in for 18 long years. But... my mum is hesitant. She's forever worried about the danger that being a young girl traveling alone can bring. I'll be alone and she's scared. Surely I'm invincible. I feel invincible. But I know, I know this danger is real and I can't help but think to myself, if I feel unsafe in my own city, how am I going to feel in a strange place with strange men who don't speak the same language as me? If I was my brother planning this, I would

ENCLOSURE AND RESISTANCE IN THE STATE HOUSING STRUGGLE

SAVE OUR HOMES

Save Our Homes is a research and praxis collective based in Tamaki Makaurau. We believe that liveable housing is a human right and should be accessible to all. We run a website saveourhomes.co.nz as a resource and information base to support communities that are resisting the state housing reforms, 90 day eviction notices and the ultimate destruction of their communities. More importantly, each of us in the collective work and stand in solidarity with the Tāmaki Housing Group, who are made up of the most militant kuia we have ever had the privilege to fight alongside, learn from and love.

Karl Marx in Capital Vol. I (1990) argues that so-called primitive accumulation involved the violent expropriation of people from the land and their means of subsistence, and the enclosure of that land for the purpose of private property. This process, which displaced peasants in fifteenth century Europe, is the same process that underpins colonisation, and new forms of enclosure such as the privatisation of state assets (Hodkinson 2012). Capital accumulation manifests today in Aotearoa in the form of privatisation of state houses, enclosure of 'state' land, and the gentrification of

communities such as Tāmaki. These processes involve the displacement of people for the purpose of accumulation by private developers, and the implementation of particular discourses that the National government and property developers use to provide a publicly palatable justification. The resistance of state housing tenants, in particular, the Tāmaki Housing Group, has emerged from this situation of displacement by development, to speak a narrative which ruptures the discourses of those in power, bringing about new possibilities for change.

committed to supporting workplace organising. If you, as a person who is committed to worker’s struggles, understand that the fast-food worker is the person who best understands the nuances and dynamics of his/her work-site, and that that person, in conjunction with other fast-food workers, is the best person to organise and agitate for change in that particular site and in the industry as a whole, then you can extrapolate that sex workers should not be dismissed as having ‘false consciousness’ or ‘lacking true understanding’ when they talk about their working lives.

As activists who want to support all workplace self-determination and organising, I believe there are two things very simple things we can do to support sex workers. The first is to support a model of full-decriminalisation of prostitution – where the transaction of sex for money is legal, and not the so-called Swedish/Nordic model, which criminalises the client/purchaser and therefore drives the entire industry underground and submits the transaction to police regulation.

The second of these is to listen to sex workers – with studies estimating the global number of prostitutes/escorts alone at between 40 and 42 million³, it is simply inexcusable for sex worker voices to be missing from activist debates about sex work. If we cannot find allies to speak to and educate our movements, the onus is on us to examine ourselves for why this may be. Aquis aliquid eateceaque volutem. Nemporum, quis ent offic to ene nestor moluptam repersperum quo dolorecte et odi blaborit, sequam, nitate dolore voluptia quae vid ul-parcimus alis repudipis exped eatios parumquam, ipis aces volendae. Et eatum, simincius endus que consentur rersped quaes nitassumquia as aut quis reium fugit laut quatusda aciliam imus. Ga. Qui omnimus. Utemqui occum vento veliquae nonsequam ea dem-pel idendis doluptatur as sequaest, sitatquibus. Nam fuga. Ipicaborem. Occus, conperum as eum es et aut unt aces sit, eumquidios quatem etusaperum que eos molupta tusape ne maxim labore-rum hillesc itiatios assita sandamus re

SOURCES

¹ **NZ Herald.** *NZ 'best place on Earth' to be a prostitute.* May 2015.

² See, for example **Lisa Macdonald** et al. *“Is Sex Work Just a Job like Any Other? A Contribution to the Discussion”* **Socialist Alliance** no. 1 April 2015

³ **Gus Lubin,** *“There Are 42 Million Prostitutes in the World, And Here's Where They Live”* **Business Insider,** 28 Jan 2012

ISABELLA WALLACE

Isabella Wallace is an 18 year old girl living in Wellington.
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probably just be wondering if European girls are going to be hot.	deserve this shame.	the taxi door. Making light conversation with the driver, he doesn’t see my sweaty hand clutching the small pocket knife I keep hidden on me at all times. He doesn’t even realize the fear I feel at his mere presence. He cannot comprehend it, he never will. How easy would this 15 minute car ride be if I were a boy?
Not all men.	Not all men.	Not all men.
Wednesday is a beautiful sunny day but I’ve always been told that I don’t have a “nice enough body” to wear a bikini on the beach. Ever since I was 6 years old I’ve thought that having tummy fat was ugly. That skin that doesn’t have a perfectly golden glow is undesirable. I amble to a clear patch of sand in my one piece and I can feel pairs of eyes latching onto me. Hairy men in Speedos who I don’t look twice at eat into my body with their stares. I’m a piece of meat. I am a piece of meat? I am here for their amusement. Please don’t let me be eaten alive.	Sitting on the internet, Friday night and scrolling down my Facebook newsfeed: “Haha, good job at the game today bro. You RAPED them!” “Damn with tits like that, you’re asking for it :P” Another sexist comment... Another sexist comment... Another sexist comment... I’m shrinking and shrinking and shrinking and I want to CRY because these boys don’t realize how small they make me feel with just pressing a few keys. I see these boys on the streets, I talk to these boys, I laugh with these boys. Dear GOD, dear GOD I hope these boys don’t think actions speak louder than words...	It comes to Sunday, another snoozy, sleepy, Sunday and someone has the AUDACITY to tell me not all men are rapists. I say nothing. I’m an 18 year old girl. When I am walking alone and it’s dark, it’s all men. When I am in a car with a man I don’t know well, it’s all men. When men drunkenly leer at me on the streets, it’s all men. When a boy won’t leave me alone at a party, it’s all men. Not all men are rapists. But for a young girl like me? Every one of them has the potential to be.
Not all men.	Not all men.	Not.
Thursday night two friends and I are walking to our goddamn school dance when we hear “Jesus look at you! You sluts heading to a pole?” These words snarl out of the mouth of a respectably dressed man and we stop in horror. Shivers roll up my back in fear. It’s dark. We are alone. What. Do. We. Do??? One of us pulls the finger back. I can never be sure how quickly a sexist man can get angry so we walk quickly away. We’re angry, so so angry. But also so... deflated. I wonder if we	Three rules that have been drilled into me since I was young run through my mind at 1.30am on a Satur... Sunday morning: -Don’t ever talk to strange men -Don’t ever be alone at night in a strange place -Don’t ever get into a car with a stranger I break all 3 of these laws as I pull open	All. Men.

JUDGMENTALITY AND THE “NEUTRAL, OBJECTIVE” VOICE OF WHITENESS

MZ

On the radical left, there are both subtle and blatant forms of colonial white supremacy. I want to draw attention to a subtle form of white supremacy that I would call “judgmentality”. This is the ‘mentality’ in which (mostly) white people feel entitled to be arbitrators of right and wrong of everything, universally. The observations I will share are based on my experiences of being non-Pākehā tau iwi in leftist, queer and feminist movements in Aotearoa.

I am sharing these thoughts not for white leftist self-improvement to be better people, but to consider the way structural racism is reproduced in supposedly anti-oppressive movements and not remain complicit.

When people first develop radical analyses of the world, I have seen a tendency to be self-righteous and judgmental of people who are ‘not there yet’. This identity as a radical becomes a marker of difference and is

cultivated by critiquing those who are problematic, liberal etc. I have totally done this. When I was working mostly with white anarcha-feminists, I used to have a few close white girlfriends that were extremely judgmental about other people’s politics. Their politics were always correct and pure. They wrote people off and were militant in their approach. For some contexts, I thought that was staunch and totally appropriate, especially when it’s challenging men for sexism for example. However, that culture of judgmentality seemed to be less about changing the system and growing radical social movements and more about cultivating an elitist individual identity or exclusive group culture of “the chosen ones”.

White judgementality also crosses the line when white people feel entitled to judge people of colour struggles and be mediators between different groups of people of colour. I’ve had Pākehā

friends tell me where my place should be in supporting tangata whenua. Over and over again in white-dominated groups and spaces, I’ve seen Pākehā act as the experts of other people’s struggles and judges of what less privileged people should and shouldn’t do. It’s frustrating when Pākehā people don’t know when to shut up, when it’s not their place to speak, when the position they are criticising from is a place of privilege. The relational power they hold operates in the same way as the unequal power relations that define structures of racism and colonialism.

Think about the role of a judge in the court system. The judge, usually an old heterosexual white cis-man, has the decision-making power over the guilt or innocence of a defendant, and the punishment if decided guilty. The judge, in the western legal imagination, is also seen as neutral and objective, with no investment in the

A CELEBRATION OF WHORES AT WORK – ON BEING A “GOOD ALLY” AND SUPPORTING WORKPLACE ORGANISING VITA

Aotearoa’s sexual services industry is yet again in the international media spotlight, this time because our country’s sex work lobby-group, the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective, described New Zealand as “the best country in the world” to work as a sex worker¹.

Given this quaint pride that Aotearoa is now world-famous for happy hookers as well as hobbits, it’s not surprising that activists and progressive thinkers are examining our collective understanding of how a commercialised exchange of sexual services for money fits in with our beliefs surrounding class, power, labour relations and the commodification of sexuality and human bodies. What’s disappointing is that this rhetoric seldom goes beyond arguments that classify prostitution as empowerment and that every sex worker lives the life of glamour portrayed in Secret Diary of a Call-Girl, pitched against tropes of trafficking, under-aged workers, poverty

and drug and alcohol dependence.

The quiet, but genuinely exciting truth, is that while (often male-presenting) activists argue on internet about whether there will still be demand for transactional sex in a post-revolution utopia, in private homes, street-front brothels, escort agencies and hotel rooms, sex workers are on the front-lines of negotiating complex power dynamics all across Aotearoa. Every day, sex-workers use their bodies and minds to provide companionship and pleasure to another human-being, usually a total stranger, within a set time-frame. Whether the individual workers who do this are empowered or victimised, working by ‘choice’ or coerced, or occupying the myriad of grey areas in between, sex workers do extraordinarily skilled work that demands a labour of both body and mind.

Despite this, many activists, argue that their problem with sex work, and

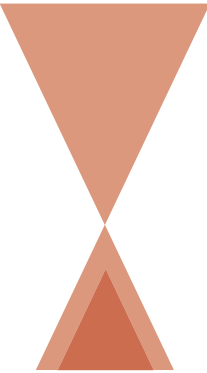
by extension sex workers, lies not in moral prudishness but in an ‘objective’ assessment of power relations under capitalism between men and women.¹ Aside from such an ‘objective’ analysis overlooking the way that gender, race, class and other situated perspectives inform the power relations in every working environment (and seemingly overlooking the fact that many sex work providers are men or trans² workers, and that many service consumers, particularly of pornography, are cis-women), it attributes a ‘false consciousness’ to sex workers – that at a fundamental demographic level, sex workers lack the ability to understand the power dynamics they work under, and continue to perpetuate their own oppression.

Such a patronising attitude towards a group of people whose job literally relies on subverting the power dynamic of human’s entitlement to sex would be endearingly funny if it wasn’t coming from a group of people supposedly

often be met with a lot of resistance from the abusive person and their supporters. However, many people can maintain friendships through individual hangouts like meeting up for coffee or watching films together; if your friendship isn't intimate enough for something like that, turning that person away from a party should hardly be a major issue. As for their presence in organisations, their value to any group is questionable if, for example, they continually prey on women.

With enough social pressure, an abusive person may feel motivated to apologise and start making amends. As a friend said, a good litmus test of whether a person's remorse is genuine is whether or not they'll let their behaviour be named to others; whether they accept that they've broken trust and need to repair it. Trust takes time and continuous work to rebuild; trust that the person is truly sorry for their actions, and that they are taking steps to make sure it won't happen again. Even then, the abused party is under no obligation to forgive them or be around them; recovery also takes time, and victims need to be able to move at their own pace.

Since abuse is a practice, not a personal identity, anyone is capable of doing it. Seeing abuse for the terrifyingly routine event that it is may help demystify the issue, and thus make dealing with it a more routine practice. While doing this is difficult in isolation, it gets easier when there are support networks to maintain it. As a friend said: politics is what we do together; everything else is just survival strategies.



cases. Their position rests on these ideals and faith in the 'fairness' of their judgements. Of course, no person can ever truly be objective or neutral, there are always political, cultural and epistemological biases. Judges, like the police, as many people already know, have been instruments of colonisation, rape culture and capitalism.

These features of a judge also exist outside of the courtroom. White people often see themselves as the 'neutral' voice, especially when they have an outsider status in a situation where their subjectivities are not invested in the struggle in question. They often claim 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' in narrating, defining and judging the struggles of other people. This is also known as the West knows Best mentality.

White judgmentality in another performance of racism that is more latent can be under the guise of benevo-

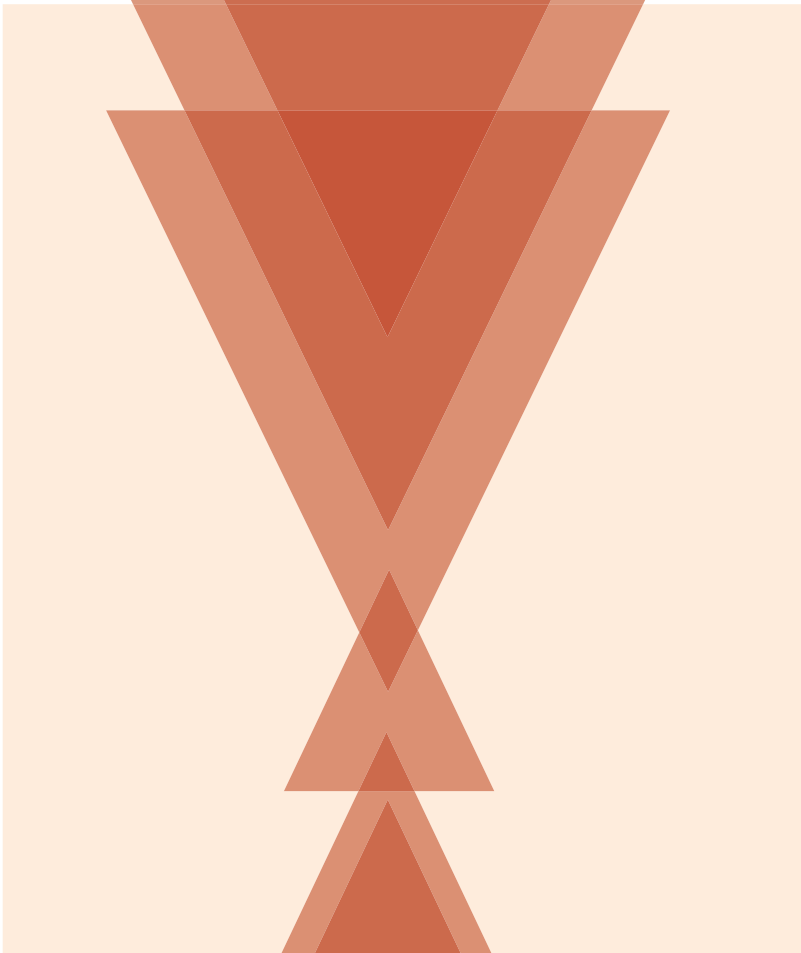
lence. It reeks of colonial ideas of civilisational and intellectual superiority. People most directly affected in a situation and most marginalised are the ones that know best how to organise and fight for their liberation. Solidarity means support, not taking over or thinking you know better. Respect and support the leadership of groups most disempowered by hegemonic power.

The last thing we need is more judges. They are part of the same (in)justice system as the police and the prison system: an arm of the colonial settler state that maintains violent social hierarchies and rampant economic inequality. Like the May 1968 Paris slogan "kill the cop in your head", the judge needs to die too.

CHATTING "PASIFIKA" AND "FEMINISM"

MALIA GRACE

Inspired by recorded talanoa with Fetuolemoana Tamapeau, Gem Wilder & Malia Grace.



F: It’s really interesting how different and similar our experiences are. I can’t really get away with just looking like a palangi.

M: I kinda can- *gesturing towards three old skinny palangi men, reading newspaper in suits-* at THAT table, I couldn’t.

F: Could *anyone* at that table?- *we giggle-* I haven’t really inherited

hesitation in the same way a lot of our New Zealand-born Pasifika people have ya know; in terms of identifying as Pasifika; or not feeling Pasifika enough. I mean one thing that’s always struck me, like in my family, and how I was affirmed as Pasifika, is that I had never heard the term “plastic”.

G *looks at me and I know her pale looking Fijian-Maori 2 year old is on her mind.*

Anne Russell is a public health student with an ongoing interest in the politics of intimate relationships.

***freethoughtblogs.com, Natalie Reed. Hipster Misogyny. 2012.**

victims of their behaviour, and making sure those people's needs are met?

Sometimes it's too unsafe or emotionally hard to work on one’s abusive friends; when an acquaintance who had sexually assaulted my friend showed up at a protest I'd organised, all I could do was cry in a corner and tell a couple of other people about him. However, the Incurable-Psychopath narrative of abusive people would hold that cutting them off completely is the only ethical way to condemn their actions. If and when one is physically and emotionally safe to do so, attempting to hold abusive friends responsible is always, always a good idea. The accountability process will decide whether you want to cut them off anyway—if you want to stay friends with someone who can't take criticism, who can't accept responsibility, who lies to you, who promises to change and then doesn't, and so forth. Some care may need to be taken if the person has been accused of violence or is generally prone to it—confronting them in a public place with support from other people can

thus be a good safety measure.

Perhaps at this point it'd be good to list a few initial phrases you might use to confront someone about their abuse, since many people feel awkward or unsure about that step. It is important to note that every friendship is unique, and you may have varying approaches that work for different dynamics. This could include age gaps, power imbalances, cultural differences and closeness of friendships. These prompts are just to start you off, as it's important to find your own way of communicating about abuse that will be effective within your particular friendships.

"Hey, can we talk? I've been hearing some bad things about your behaviour [towards X] and I'm really not comfortable with it."

"Hi, your creepy behaviour is making some people feel unsafe, and I think you should leave this event. It'd be good to talk more about this later; maybe we could meet up next week?"

"Hey, I'm pretty uncomfortable about you having a leadership position in this organisation; the way you've been treating and talking about women isn't okay."

"Mate, it's really not cool for you to talk about trans women like that, knock it off."

"What is this, I thought I signed up for "lesbian coven", not "lechbian coven."

At this point the person could apologise and agree to start changing their behaviour. However, they could also go into denial, or become defensive and angry. Either way, it is a very good idea to call in support from one's friends. Doing this has at least three benefits: it shows a united front against the person's abusive behaviour, it helps keep everyone's emotional energy up, and it helps share details and tactics. When a friend of mine told me she hadn't harassed her ex in a long time, other friends let me know she was lying, which made me better equipped to keep confronting her.

Prioritising the victims' needs often determines the first step in adjusting to a new sort of relationship with the abusive/predatory person in question. If that person is still a risk to their surrounding population, and/or if their victims still feel unsafe around or triggered by them, keeping them away from group events is very important. It's a step people are often unfortunately unwilling to take, as at best it's an awkward process, and will

YOUR PROBLEMATIC FAVE: CONFRONTING FRIENDS ABOUT ABUSE

ANNE RUSSELL

A welcome narrative has recently sprung up about how society needs to teach men (and others) not to rape or abuse people, rather than teaching women (and others) to avoid rape and abuse as though it's an un-changeable fact of life. Many people are aware that this means men have to talk to other men about their abusive/predatory behaviours. However, they often baulk when it comes to actually doing this with their friends and peers, going into denial about their loved one's behaviour and/or declaring the situation is too awkward or complicated.

Dealing with cases of abuse is always a fraught and complicated process for everyone, including for those trying to be a middleman without veering into abuse apologia. The lack of coherent narratives around dealing with queer abuse or women's abuse of men doesn't help the overall situation. This is thus a brief, rough attempt at a guideline for how to start trying to hold one's friends of all genders accountable for their abusive behaviour.

For the most part, abusive behaviour can only be revealed by someone talking about it, creating what many people refer to as a he-said-she-said situation. As such, many people refuse to believe those who talk about being abused, as they believe or want to believe that this information contradicts what they know of the accused person. He's so kind to his mother, or she's such a good feminist leader—how could they possibly have been abusive? The denial of this often extends to victim-blaming; surely the abuse must have been provoked by her short skirt or annoying behaviour.

People will go to extraordinary lengths to avoid accepting the knowledge that someone they respect, care about or even love dearly has done something terrible, and needs to be told to stop doing it. In a culture that portrays Rapists and Abusers only as people who hide in bushes sporting I Hate Women T-shirts, it is hard to reach the more accurate standpoint of "people we love and admire can do really fucked up things". Natalie Reed's* analysis of systemic misogyny

makes this clearer: There really isn't any such thing as "sexists", "trans-phobes", "racists", etc. There are only actions, statements and beliefs that are sexist, transphobic, racist, etc. And we're all susceptible to them.

Likewise, sexism is not a social problem that can be located, isolated, quarantined and then eliminated. It is an emergent system of attitudes about sex and gender that derives its power from the bottom up, from all corners of our culture. Given how common rape and domestic abuse are, the idea that only supervillains commit abuse is simply not true. But while the more accurate narrative of "people we love and admire can do really fucked up things" can be pretty depressing, it can also be a source of hope; intimately abusive people aren't incurable psychopaths after all! The question does get more complex, though; in each case, you ask yourself, can I continue to love this person while still condemning these parts of their behaviour? What would that love look like? How do I balance it out with caring for the

M: What?!

F: I'd never heard someone go "plastic Samoan" or "plastic brownie".

M: Really?!

F: Nope.

M: Kinder surprise?

F: Really?! Have you had that? It's a ridiculous term. It's a strategy that divides us and it's all to do with colonisation, know what I mean?

M & G: Totally!

F: It's what's in the backdrop of us having to prove authenticity all the time in a way that palangi don't have too.

M: I've only just recently stopped calling myself plastic.

F & G: Really?

M: Yeah - *I feel myself blush* - I have to say I never saw it as a super bad thing. The only times I'd find it a bad thing was when I was at Island funerals and functions, but even then I'd be quite aware that even though I'm "plastic" in comparison to them, those people judging me are surely pretty "plastic" in comparison to whoever is in their head, ya know? So I always just thought of it as being closer to both worlds.

F: It's like we're all plastic, kinda thing,

which is not really what we wanna be saying. It's more like - *she pauses* - we wanna be like, "We're all Pasifika" and some of the conversations have been gravitating towards "We're all plastic" instead, which is not productive.

M: Yeah totally. That changed for me going to university, doing Pacific Studies, reading Epeli Hau'ofa. Before that, I had even enrolled as New Zealand European with no indicator of Tongan.

being next to the English alphabet in my house and trying to match up the letters with each other, asking "If that one is 'B'?" and "Is that one 'C'?" Realising they didn't match up and instead, that they exist just as very different things, is something some people just don't seem to learn. I definitely feel privileged being in that knowingness.

G: Yeah, I find it really comforting going to spaces where I'm not battling

Suddenly I feel very aware of the different shades at the table.

F: I can't ever imagine being in a situation, in my whole life; where that could happen.

Suddenly I feel very aware of the different shades at the table. G interrupts my thought -

G: I always felt internally connected to my Fijian side, despite being white. Going to uni gave me access to feminism. I had gone through high school and all that; before, not identifying as a feminist.

M: I don't know there was much on feminism at uni for me. I think being able to get away with being both brown or white in different settings though, helped me understand differences between things at a young age. I remember the Tongan alphabet poster

that kinda - *searching for words* - I say "ignorance" but I don't mean it in a put down way, I just mean it as an absence of knowledge, so when I go to things like Kava Club/Chop Suey Hui or doing the Maori & Pasifika Creative Writing paper, where you don't have to start off fighting through that lack of knowledge, and teaching, and waiting for that catch up to happen, it's so nice to be around people that get it.

We all sit nodding, smiling at our own experiences of these places. F looks at us both, checking if anyone else wants the air space before she proceeds -
F: It's more palangi situations actually, I think -*referring to uncomfortable spaces*- especially not being straight as well. There was a trend, this idea, and to me it's a myth; of brown people being anti-gay or inherently homophobic

We all sit nodding, smiling at our own experiences of these places.

because they’re inherently “church-y”. Yeah, so kind of dealing with people’s perceptions and that they really take those myths on board and believe them. But it’s something that I’ve always NOT believed because Pasifika isn’t one-dimensional to me. So its like “why are you focusing on that?” There are Pacific people that aren’t cool with it, just like there are palangi people that aren’t cool with it. *She jokes* - It’s just that we look more noticeable because we’re better looking - *the three of us fill the room with big Island laughter.*

G: I can’t think of a place where the two [Pasifika & Feminism] are uncomfortable and I think that is just because I’m more intrinsically feminist rather than activist feminist so it’s with me no matter what space I’m navigating. I think with intersectional feminism - like that whole thing of the “white feminist” having become a joke- the feminist groups I belong to, use that term and I totally understand what it means, but it’s always white women that are using it. They’re totally onto it women as well, but there just seems to be a real disconnect from their own privilege there.

M: That’s something I think we’re quite lucky in because of our Pasifika status, we get skilled at the whole

two-worlds negotiation cause we’re constantly, daily, right now even, positioning ourselves, and making that position known.

F: And that’s so important aye? - *nodding*

M: Referring back to the two spaces though, I probably feel more that way about my Pasifika identity than my feminist identity. I grew up with mostly boys, so I sometimes think I’m feminist out of survival. Until very recently, I still battled the male opinion in my head that comments on my clothes etc - *I take a moment to think* - I get quite self conscious of my brown in spaces like Kava Club/Chop Suey Hui/ Maori & Pasifika Writers things, cause I always feel that there’s an expectation from people. Like people expect me to know Tongan things or make jokes I don’t understand. I kinda have to position myself as like “Na sorry, I don’t actually know much at all” Cause I don’t feel like I have much Tongan knowingness.

G: Yeah, I come into spaces, like “I’m here to be educated” but also because I’m white I feel like *-pausing-* people know I belong and that I do actually get it, and I’m not here as a tourist ya know?

M: How do you negotiate that?

G: I don’t, I can’t, I just have to keep going and keep learning and talking to people and eventually I won’t be seen as the “oh who is that white girl?” As I learn and connect to Pasifika culture more, I’m sorta naturally drawn to the feminists within that culture so as I come into my Pasifika culture, I’m coming into it seeking those people and those stories.

F: That’s what it is *-her finger points in the air* - our Pasifika *-fumbling on words-* what I was tryna get to earlier, of how like, I don’t see my feminist and Pasifika identity as separate. It’s because our indigenous knowledges already have those ideas networked into the way we be.

Its just not labelled the same thing as what palangi do. We have our own ways of navigating “feminism” and other “ism’s” differently. They’re completely already networked into how we do things.

M: Yeah *-nodding and rushing through a mouthful of food-* that makes me think of something a friend said to me recently about secret knowledges. PhD/degrees etc are all ways of keeping secret knowledge exclusive and protecting it, she said. I wonder if our silence on certain topics works in the same way?

ism. Marx provided our predecessors in the resistance movement with a way of understanding the impacts of capitalist expansionism which was a characteristic of colonisation, on the contemporary position of Māori. The resistance to colonisation is an ongoing struggle as potent for many today as it was when the first colonisers set foot on Aotearoa in 1769.

However, much has changed in the way in which our struggle takes place today. Iwi have become the new elites (Rata 1997), and what was once a clear struggle between coloniser and colonised has become further complicated with the coloniser having a brown face as the economics of Treaty settlements are giving them license to look and act like capitalists and crown agents.

The illusion that we are subscribing to is that by adopting capitalism as our modus operandi in the long march

towards self-determination, we can secure freedom for generations to come, changing the system from within. Have we forgotten that capitalism with the attendant greed for land and resources, fuelled colonisation? And now that many iwi have signed ‘full and final’ treaty settlements, the danger is that hard-won resources will not last and future generations will be left with nothing.

Capitalism is one of the tools of colonisation, and while our ancestors were highly successful entrepreneurs, we were a collective society, whose actions were based on what was best for the collective iwi, hapu and whanau. It was always the collective good at the center of the uptake of new technology and ways of trading.

The contribution Marxist theory makes to indigenous struggles for freedom is rooted in Marxist discourse on historical materialism (Hokowhitu

Smith, 2010) and the ongoing contemporary effects of historically established economic and political systems which continue to feed inequities in all aspects of Māori lives today (Reid & Robson, 2007).

It is the inevitability of the struggle for freedom from the shackles of the powerful that render Marx’s theory so powerful in indigenous human rights movements around the world.

Ka whawhai tonu mātou,
Ake! Ake! Ake!
In love, rage and solidarity.

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of their labour and themselves in the process of creating for another. Thirdly, the individual becomes alienated from the product of their labour as they no longer own their own creativity or the product of their work, and lastly, they become alienated from their own essential nature or “species essence” (Seeman, 1975).

However, it is important not to conceptualise exploitation as merely an unjust part of the capitalist system. In point of fact, subjugation and the class struggle are an integral and vitally important component of the capitalist system. The class struggle is an intrinsic and permanent feature of the political economy of capitalism, as is the use of the police and judiciary to enforce this

themselves, their indigenous value systems, worldviews and lifeways. In order to assimilate, the colonised must enter in a willing state of self-loathing, despising everything about themselves that hinders their conversion into, and emulation of, the model of the “coloniser”.

Fanon (1965) maintains that after failed attempts to be like the coloniser, the only recourse for the colonised upon fully realising that they will never be acceptable to the coloniser is rebellion. In Fanon’s analysis, rebellion is inevitable, as it is in a Marxist analysis.

Marx’s theory of historical materialism further informs the indigenous

understood through Marx’s theory of alienation; only this time, the struggle is to be freed from alienation from within the tribal culture and collective (Rata, 2009). This is the internalisation and application of the role of the coloniser to further disempower the colonised. More recent applications of the struggle for self-determination place the struggle as a reassertion of indigenous rights and as a shifting of the fight towards increasingly powerful Māori tribal leadership. The enemy is identified as one that which resides ‘within’. It is, however, important to recall the process of colonisation and the development of historical intergenerational trauma which still winds its way through the lives of indigenous

In order to assimilate, the colonised must enter in a willing state of self-loathing, despising everything about themselves that hinders their conversion into and emulation of, the model of the ‘coloniser’.

system against resistance from the exploited, and colonisation itself is built on a racist oppressive relationship that produces the alienation of indigenous peoples from themselves. The realities of colonisation and the colonial legacy which traverses generations, producing contemporary impacts in the form of pervasive inequities and inequalities, has fuelled and continues to fuel indigenous political activism (Fanon, 1965; Walker, 1989).

Memmi (1965) asserted that on realising their oppressed state, the colonised have two choices- rebellion or assimilation. Assimilation requires the absolute rejection and denial of

struggles against the artefacts of colonisation. In a contemporary analysis, the litany of theft and dispossession of land and resources throughout the indigenous world ignites the fire of resistance and struggle with the goal being the reclaiming of the power and authority to be self-determining (Alfred, 2005; Churchill, 2002).

An extension on the scholarship of Alfred and Churchill is offered by Rata (2006), who conducts an analysis of the construction of indigenous tribal elites which can be likened to a brown bourgeoisie. In Rata’s analysis, the resistance to tribal domination constructs a new struggle which can be

peoples today, creating a vulnerability that causes blindness to the real source of the struggle. In this new struggle, the capacity to hold on to the underpinning role of colonisation in the dispossession of Māori should never be lost sight of, or the potency of the struggle underestimated (Churchill, 2003).

In his book *Kā Whāwhai Tonu Mātou*, Walker examines the ongoing resistance of Māori to colonisation. The resistance movement took as a component of its early inspiration, Marxist theories including alienation and the exploitation of the “worker” for the benefit of the “owner” under capital-



How you have held things [2013].

WE TALK A LOT ABOUT THE STRUGGLE

SIÂN TORRINGTON

Siân Torrington is a queer / hard / super femme / brute who makes art, writing and performance.

Based in Wellington, New Zealand, Siân makes drawings, sculpture and installation. Her work investigates the creative process itself, often using building as a metaphor for creating personal structures of meaning. The form and challenges of spaces is what give projects their shape, creating projects which reflect the experiential nature of physically being in a space, what it does and how it relates to the bodies which inhabit it. Siân graduated with an MFA with distinction from Massey University in 2010 and has exhibited widely. You can see her work at allmeaningisthelineyoudraw@wordpress.com

We talk a lot about the struggle.

Getting it down, keeping it alive. Of making space, and letting it through. Like it is a hole that we need to make. Like what we are dealing with is an animal which keeps changing shape. Sometimes it's a big soft, needing gentle, shifting hands. Sometimes it's a noisy yell which needs a funnel. Sometimes you just have to know how far away from the microphone to stand. Other times it's a silence and your job is to fill it. Other times, it's a dead weight and no strength will lift it.

When it is hard, treat it like it doesn't matter. Make a bad drawing. Treat it like you have all the time in the world for it to get born. Like there's no deadlines, no pressure. It comes from underneath and eats time like air. Just when you're ready, just whenever you're ready. Just, try to relax.

*

I lost a tooth because the specialist cost too much. I couldn't afford to hang on. It took two weeks to recover. Two weeks of unpaid leave. The body decides, there is no form. Artists' bodies are sensitive.

*

Artists' bodies rot like all the rest. I lost a tooth, and gained a gap that a pencil fits in.

The system you have invented for managing your life and sustaining it is as delicate and intricate as an eco system. It's like one of your drawings where tiny things balance and reflect

off some unlikely other thing. But there's no kudos or status in this. Just anxiety that one piece will fall. *To get here, it takes all of me. No nets, no halfway and when you get cold I live in you like an animal saying*

Crash, Breathe.

Living without protection. Every decision you make is vital to the survival of every other branch. Just, keep growing, forming shelves where the most difficult piece holds in space. I have four accounts where I put money for now, money for later, money for housing, money for eating. I move them around and try not to feel bad when I forget or mistake one for the other.

How do you get to be loose under pressure? There's always so much losing in it. You lose time, holidays, babies, a house, a proper job, success. You try to draw from the shoulder, to drop your arm.

The shoulders, the dog, the sand, the bust we are broke we are rumbles he says wow, then how do you climb and we reply yes, a club, yes, a blanket and still there is no protection but we talk, we tell, if it was yours I would keep it, keep it, keep it safe.

Making plans and ways to put bits with pieces, sell things, create contracts, grow silverbeet which survives every winter, squirrel away money. Say, I can make you a cup of tea at home. A rehearsal and repeat, repeat repent, do something keep moving

I take notes on sifted piles, the body

which can't keep up.

*

Let us be clear. When you feel defeated by being unable to change an employment system, make bread. Clear leaves. Make small incursions into the actual world which thanks you, which responds.

Your effort is valued by units of hours and minutes and ticking. *Time operates differently here. All day can produce nothing, and the last half hour is the full slide. All day can produce nothing which tomorrow is the way through.* Your four part time jobs allow you to do this. You chose this. You wanted this. You are stubborn. You haven't lived in one house more than two years your entire adult life, because of this. This is your child, this is what you chose to birth, to bring to life. Just keep it alive.

Just try to relax. Don't be afraid of failure. Try to forget the height of the stakes.

You are so, lucky. You are falling behind.

(your body cannot contain a rest.)

Everything stopped working, and so did the obvious. I waited, looking physically and really for you.

You have created a soft and delicate, strong and permeable space in which all of this makes sense. It is temporary and movable. In here you are able to work.

MARXISM & THE MĀORI SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENT

A MĀORI COMMUNIST PERSPECTIVE



HURIANA
KOPEKE-TE AHO

The influence of Marxist theory and particularly Marx's theory of alienation and capitalist political economy on the Māori sovereignty movement during the 1970's is important to examine, and I would also like to consider the contemporary relevance of these ideas for Tino Rangatiratanga (Māori political autonomy).

Marx clarifies the exploitative relationship underpinning the political and economic system of capitalism. The themes of subjugation, oppression and enslavement that are necessary within a capitalist political economy are common to the process of colonisation and the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised and indeed still feature in the contemporary neo-colonial struggle. The arms of colonisation reach backwards and forwards in time,

creating a struggle that we as Māori are born into. Our destiny and our legacy is one of resistance rather than acceptance and passive submission.

Capitalism relies on the exploitation of labour, this then leads to alienation. Marx's theory of alienation is anchored in the positioning of human beings as conscious creative beings. Marx called this uniquely human capacity for creation 'species-being'. Marx distinguished us from other living beings by our ability to perform 'conscious' labour. Through the act of change and transformation of our environment we change ourselves in the process. In Marx's theory, capitalism creates and relies upon the construct of alienation.

Furthermore, the invention of social class which flourishes under capitalism

relies on the creation of a ruling class or bourgeoisie, who own the means of production, and the working class or the proletariat who create profit for the bourgeoisie through their labour. In this economic process, the worker is dehumanised, so much so that they become little more than a means of production, a unit of labour to be bought and sold as capital.

Marx further separated the construct of alienation into four key concepts that together, made a unified theory of labour exploitation. In the process of alienation the worker becomes firstly, alienated from their fellow workers/ social relations being subverted into a singular unit of production. Secondly, the individual becomes alienated from the process of creative labour through the commodification of the outcomes

asked by a client so far is ‘How can I go home and be on my own knowing what I now know about myself?’ Sex is deep stuff, saturated with meaning. Humans touch each other here. Lives change in my Whoring Room. I wonder about sex work under a non capitalist non patriarchal system, as if that ever existed. I would be perhaps sacred, and valued. I would be a healer and an educator. Perhaps I am already.

Here is a quote from David Rosen, in the magazine Guernica: ‘The prostitute’s sexual exchange is the purest expression of capitalist alienation, the relation between buyer and seller’.

If sex work is a Bad Thing, as left wing thinkers like Rosen propound, then it is not because of the sex. It the alienation, and that alienation pervades all aspects of our lives in society. Buying and selling sex has taken place long before capitalism, and in other societies where patriarchy may take different forms or even be mitigated by other social forces. It is the alienation that degrades women, commodifies us, and leads men into situations where oppression is easier than communicating. One socialist commentator states it is important to see sex workers as victims, because calling them victims points to the fact that there is oppression. But here and now, oppression is ubiquitous. As Clio the Whore, I would call us not to suppress sex work, but to reclaim our humanity and the depth of our relationships.

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There’s no formula available, only guides we try to write ourselves. We pass them in code, in text, in glances. They are unclear. We find our allies and cling to each other in cold halls. If we can work it out, we can reproduce this, prove it, the good bits, we get to survive. Efficiency is working out the fastest way there. What is it that you want to do? How will be involved? How much will it cost? Riding is free; bend your body against the wind; make it airborne, make it sleek, keep it strong.

Sometimes I can only draw it and when I can’t I get full and it eats me, my relationship, my sex, my balance. There is no option I must keep this space though real estate goes up and up.

It is anti-capitalist to sit. To sit with it, whatever it is. Because it takes time, and does not consume.

*

And do they sell?
Even the tiniest are not sorry. I take them, they say how do we ever, they contain a kind of lowering I can’t stop.

You gotta be willing to get to dying before something you want cracks out. It will not be what you want. It will be just what you need, as you peer at it with all your languages asking what are you, ugly unwanted thing?

There is no compromise, find the breath, breathe in on it, submit, relent, pay attention, yield, hold on, never give up. Touched body grieved never breaking and remaking, it is beautiful, it is full of living. Try to relax.

Things present, how you came through trying,

marks of love,

We are allowed to be here, because we paid money

We are allowed to be here, because we are part of the earth.



Soft is stronger than Hard [2014].



other arguments. It also seemed to be the aspect most amenable to being addressed by looking at the experience of individuals, and that is what I can offer to the debate.

My experience is limited because I am new to the industry and I can only speak from my own perspective as an educated middle aged Pakeha woman and my background has no particular trauma or impoverishment. Throughout my social work background I would have seen sex workers as victims, of poverty, addiction, or the men in their lives. When I began this work I was astounded to find myself selling sex, astounded to find that I did not 'feel

worth, stay safe. I don't bargain, for example. When men text things like '\$60 for anal that's my best offer' I reply 'Would you bargain with your hairdresser or your GP? I too am a professional, providing a service'. I use my social work skills which involve the conscious use of self to assess needs and engage clients, and to keep safe. I also act. I act domme, I act cute, I act like a pet. These are roles which I enjoy, but they are roles nevertheless. My Whore's Drawers, as I call them, my wardrobe of skimpy yet elegant outfits and killer heels, are my uniform. If I was an airline pilot I would wear a pilot's uniform. Both uniforms denote professionalism. Moreover, my

and nobody sees those as the selling of the self. I sell my labour too as I always have. Moreover, I mostly like my clients and I hope I see them as whole people.

And yet. I want to return now to the man who envied me my fantasy life, the man seeking a brief escape from a sexless marriage, from the stress of a job he thought he would be able to retire from by now, and also from the soulless anomie of an increasingly atomised society in late stage capitalism where affection or its simulacra are bought and sold like everything else. If an hour with me is a commodity, if in fact I am a commodity for that

When I began this work I was astounded to find myself selling sex, astounded to find that I did not 'feel oppressed', and astounded to find that I liked my work.

oppressed', and astounded to find that I liked my work and (most of the time) my clients. Am I subjected to false consciousness? Should I feel victimised?

I am in charge in my Whoring Room. Hurt or degrade me, and you leave. For the first two weeks, my friend mentioned above, who is a gay man who used to run a parlour, ran me. He emphasised my safety and my self esteem. He encouraged me to talk with clients to assess their needs and my safety. After one unpleasant client, he assured me that I need never do anything I was not comfortable with, and that it was fine to stand up for myself. The New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective gave me similar advice – stand on your dignity, charge what you

clients mostly treat me with respect and gratitude, far more so than if I worked in fast food or even emergency psychiatry for that matter.

All this implies that sex is the same as anything else. I offer counselling with actions, or massage in costume, or a little bit of theatre. A fantasy. One fantasy per man. You want a drill bit inserted into your rectum? I can help with that. Have prostate cancer and it's on your bucket list to have a woman piss in your mouth? I can help with that. It's all the same to me. Nothing degrading, because nothing personal. While I pride myself on my focus and use of my whole self, it is the same ethical base as for social work or other personalised social services,

particular hour, so is he, so is everyone else who is alienated from the forces of production.

I wish I had a clear stance on whether or not sex is different from anything else, and a tidier argument. My hunch is that critics of sex work and its proponents are making an Aristotelian category error, a bit like arguing whether or not a blade of grass is odd or even. It is a question best dealt with outside the arena of politics and activism, and yet, a bit like deciding somehow whether or not a foetus is a person, it underpins whole arguments and affects the real lives of sex workers, their clients and policy makers.

The strangest question I have been

Clio is named for the Muse of History, a nod to my academic past. She works from an upmarket residence, has as clients mostly working class older men, and does a little ‘domming’ where required.

‘You live in a fantasy’, says my client wistfully. He is lying on my bed in a state of post coital triste, having expounded to me his marital problems. He looks around him, at the beautiful room bathed in golden light with its fin de siècle Parisian theme, he strokes the flank of the warm woman in his arms. ‘You are so lucky’, he tells me, ‘You get to have sex all day’. He is right ofcourse, it is a fantasy. Whose fantasy is it? Then and there, it is his fantasy. And mine?

Clio is named for the Muse of History, a nod to my academic past. She works from an upmarket residence, has as clients mostly working class older men, and does a little ‘domming’ where required. She likes her clients and finds her time with them often enjoyable. She employs the same professionalism she always has. She sees whoring as part social work and part theatre sports. She is the ultimate capitalist, an independent business woman in charge of her own destiny, apolitical, amoral, individualistic; for her the money meter runs all the time. She is the ultimate anti capitalist, living off the grid and on her wits, undertaking transactions of a sort older than feudalism.

Left wing critique of sex work is predicated on two ideas – that it is inherently degrading to sex workers, who

are mostly women, and that it must exist within patriarchal systems. Late stage capitalism with its cultural impoverishment and austerity measures has driven women into sex work and also made sex work more dangerous and more alienating. Sex work cannot be decoupled from the capitalist system in which it thrives. There would be no need for it otherwise. Most sex workers would choose not to be doing it. Sex workers are victims either of social and economic forces around them or their own pasts. They may be considered to be ‘prostituted women’. Sex work by its nature is traumatising. Clients or ‘johns’ are engaged in oppression whether they know it or not. The buying of sex exists as part of the commodification and objectification of women and is a result in part of the patriarchal view of family life. Sexual transactions are qualitatively different from all other transactions. Sex should never be bought or sold.

Sex work activists and their liberal feminist allies emphasise choice. If a woman has choices over her own body, sex work may be one of them. If sex work is dangerous and degrading, it is because it is criminalised and unsupported, not because of inherent issues in sex work itself.

Sex work is just that – work. Sexual transactions are like any other transac-

tions. Sex workers are better paid and perform often under better conditions than their counterparts who may work under a zero hour contract on minimum wage. And yet, nobody tries to ‘rescue’ workers from the cleaning industry. Sex work advocates accuse other feminists of identity politics and are concerned that the voices of sex workers themselves are not heard.

The subtext behind these arguments is the question of whether or not sex is like anything else. Proponents of sex work say yes of course it is, it can be freely bought and sold like any other service. A sex worker might say that her actions are no more intimate than that of a physiotherapist or counsellor. Left wing critics argue that sex is different. It is an intimate act involving the whole self. Sell the act and the self itself is being sold, and the selling of sex is at the absolute sharpest end of the worst of capitalism and patriarchy, where a less powerful individual, usually a woman, is selling herself to a more powerful man. Inequality is inherent.

I became interested in this particular aspect of the argument, whether or not sexual transactions are like any other transactions and whether or not sex is like any other activity. It seemed to me to be treated by both sides as a given, and yet it underpinned the

POLICING THE COLONIAL PROJECT OF AOTEAROA, NEW ZEALAND

SANDRA DICKSON

Sandra Dickson is a Pākehā queer feminist bogan from the Hutt Valley who spends most of her time working to end gendered violence. She is committed to working in relationships between Tangata Whenua and Tauīwi based on justice, equity and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Content Warning: police brutality/violence, racism

In 1997 a government report¹ into police attitudes towards Maori found significant evidence of institutional racism.

Almost one in four police officers had negative attitudes towards Māori and half of the officers reporting negative behaviour said it received no reprimand from supervisors. Māori officers were significantly more likely to believe Māori were being treated with more suspicion than other ethnicities, but overall:

- A third of police acknowledged there was a greater tendency to suspect Māori of an offence
- Nearly half reported police were more likely to query vehicle registration when Māori were seen driving a flash car
- About a fifth reported police were more likely to ask Māori what they were doing in the early hours of the morning

- At least two thirds had heard colleagues using racist language about suspects or offenders
- It’s useful here to consider what institutional racism means. It’s not about the intent of individual police officers, judges or corrections staff, though of course that may be racist. It’s about the patterns of different treatment by an institution because of race. It’s about differences at every stage of the criminal justice system all pointing in the same direction. It’s about the impact of colonisation.

“As with all cultures, that of the Police imbues the individuals within it with its core values and its historic ethic. Because of that the behaviour of an individual Police Officer cannot be separated from that of the culture. If the culture is based upon the institutionalised racism of colonisation, then its members will be imbued with, and may even manifest, that racism.”²



Figure 1: Racism and Cultural Violence Wheel, Network Waitangi Whangarei.³

(see Figure 1)

In 2007 a government report⁴ about the over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system confirmed that Māori are more likely to have police contact; be charged; lack legal representation; not be granted bail; be convicted; be sentenced to non-monetary penalties and denied release

to Home Detention.

While these “small”, perhaps “cumulative”, kinds of racism are acknowledged, the report leaned towards concluding that Māori families are more likely to foster environments in which criminality takes place. In sixty pages the word colonisation appears just once, in a quote from

another researcher. It suggested changes were required in other areas:

“the primary domain for government intervention to address disproportionality is argued to reside in the areas of health, social support and education, in order to reduce disadvantage and the problems it confers.”

NOT ABOUT THE HEART OF DARKNESS; WHORING AS A PROFESSION AT THE END OF CAPITALISM*

CLIO THE WHORE

You don’t come to sex work at the age of 55 without a story, so here in brief is mine. For 26 years I was a social worker and for the last ten I worked in emergency psychiatry. I also have some history of activism, in the peace and women’s movements of the 1980’s, through to Occupy and environmentalist support currently. In 2014 I developed a close friendship with an ex client who has a significant criminal justice history. I lost my career, left my marriage, and ended up in a new town in an unaffordable house, with my friend and with no means of support. And so Clio the Whore put on heels for the first time in her life, and in March of 2015 she came tottering into my new Whoring Room.

*From the weblog *Diary of a London Call Girl*, by Belle du Jour (Brooke Magnanti).
‘It’s not all about the sex - never has been. It’s about the heart of darkness.’

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still sorely lacking a diverse representation of sex and race in cleantech decision making. Many people are unaware of the renewable energy options available to them; and while resources ⁴ ⁵ aim to inform, it's in no one's best interest to have only a fraction of the world's voices represented in finding cleaner, "greener" solutions. Other inspirational women of note, such as Nawal Al-Hosany, the director of both the Zayed Future energy prize and sustainability at Masdar, and Sandrine Dixson-DeCleve, who directs the Prince of Wales's EU Corporate Leaders Group to promote eco-friendly policies in Brussels, cannot stand alone in making a change.

The problem is not a new one. Historically, the entire tech field has been dominated by men, and it will take more than a several years and a few fresh faces to make up for decades of inaction and missed opportunities. At major research universities, men hold a staggering 86 percent of all comput-

er science undergraduate degrees. And to add insult to injury, the percent of women holding degrees in computer science actually dropped from 37 percent to 18 percent between 1985 and 2010.

As the success of green technology is vital to the preservation of our resources and our planet, the current state of ongoing gender bias has to go. When half of the population is denied access to one of the most powerful industries, responsible for shaping the lives of all the world's inhabitants, there is more than enough justification for alarm. Technology, when used at its best, can span boundaries of race, class, and gender. Bright minds, male and female, are needed to both recognize and harness its potential to push for better "green" ideas. Climate change does not discriminate- a diversification of both educational programs and the green tech workforce is what the Earth and all future generations deserve.

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The acknowledgment from the state that people take up criminal behaviour because disadvantage and poverty are awful - and therefore we should be interested in social and material contexts - is welcome. However, it is not acceptable for the criminal justice system to fail to address its own institutional racism by palming off government interventions elsewhere. We cannot understand the over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system outside the context of colonisation.

In the Aotearoa New Zealand colonial project, Māori have been "in the way", obstacles for the police to overcome, rebels threatening the colonising process. As colonisation embedded racism into the institutions and processes governing New Zealand, Māori were dispossessed. This is not about individual police officers, but the systemic, endemic culture of policing in a colonised land.

New Zealand Police are the state enforcers, the sharp end of the colonial project in Aotearoa. They invade when colonisation calls, arrest when the state needs. We cannot make sense of a police killing in Taranaki today without the context of the police invasion of Parihaka and illegal detention of Te Whiti-o-Rongomai (Taranaki and Te Ātiawa) and Tohu Kākahi (Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui). We cannot make sense of the impact of an invasion of Te Urewera in 2007 without understanding the police killing of Tūhoe leader Rua Kēnana's son during his arrest nearly a century earlier.

Ethnicity	1 Dec 2008 - 21 Mar 2010	22 Mar 2010 - 30 Jun 2012	1 Jan - 31 Dec 2013
NZ European	17	23	50
Māori	16	31	74
Pacific Peoples	18	39	91
Other	-	20	-

Table 1: Ethnicity and Rate of Taser Use per 10,000 Apprehensions⁸⁹

The 2007 report into Māori over-representation in the criminal justice system did not examine deaths in custody, taser use or police shootings. What happens at the sharpest end of the colonial project, when the police use severe or lethal violence?

A recent ten year review by the Independent Police Complaints Authority (IPCA) of deaths in custody found just under half the deaths were of Māori prisoners. The review argued that processes earlier in the criminal justice system were responsible for the disproportionate number of Māori deaths – that there was no **additional** (my emphasis) institutional racism. "The disproportionate number of Māori deaths in police custody reflects the over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system generally. The

causes of this over-representation were not within the scope of the review."⁵

The New Zealand Police Association actively campaigned for the introduction and national roll-out of tasers to increase the force at their disposal in the early twenty-first century.⁶

"A Taser is a hand-held, electro-muscular disruption device that is capable of incapacitating a person and causing pain through the application of an electrical current. For example, Tasers could be used by police to temporarily incapacitate a violent or combative person during arrest. It can be used as an immobilisation device or simply as a device for inflicting pain on a person."

Police figures show that taser use has become increasingly heavily raced in

Gender	1 Dec 2008 - 21 Mar 2010	22 Mar 2010 - 30 Jun 2012	1 Jan - 31 Dec 2013
Male	19	32	162
Female	6	9	42

Table 2: Gender and Rate of Taser Use per 10,000 Apprehensions⁸⁹

the three years since initial trial, when there was little difference in taser use across ethnicity. The data is based on rates per 10,000 apprehensions, which controls for earlier institutional racism.

New Zealand Police are now tasering NZ Europeans three times as often as the introductory period; but for Māori and Pasifika people the rates are about five times as often as when tasers were first introduced. It seems clear that as there is less scrutiny, the police are using tasers more often in general, but also that they feel more able to treat suspects differently based on ethnicity. Additional institutional racism compounds earlier discrimination for Māori and Pasifika.

It should be noted that taser use is also heavily gendered. In the trial period, men were three times more likely to be tasered than women; in the latest period this increased to four times more likely. Men are eight times as likely to be tasered in the later time period than the early time period. Although there is no intersectional data combining ethnicity and gender, from these two data sets it's clear that the police "immobilise or inflict pain" vastly more often on Māori and Pasifika men. Examining patterns around lethal shootings by New Zealand Police is more difficult. Unlike taser use or deaths in custody, there are no public reports with ethnicity routinely recorded. The best source of data after 1995 is the IPCA reports of deaths involving the police. Before 1995 the sole information on fatal police shootings is a *New Zealand Herald* article with one sentence synopses of the 13 killings since 1941.¹¹

Ethnicity of Victim	Number	Percentage
Māori	9	56%
Unknown	4	25%
Iraqi	1	6%
Samoan	1	6%
Tongan	1	6%

Table 3: Ethnicity of Victims of Lethal Police Killings – 1995 -2015

This article does not include the lethal shootings of 11 Samoans by New Zealand Police shipped to Apia in 1929 during a peaceful demonstration.¹² It is only possible to determine the ethnicity of four of the 13 the article names through cross-referencing with media and historical records online. All four are Māori.

Because of these information limitations, I am going to focus on police lethal shootings in the period the IPCA reports cover, from 1995 – 2015.¹³

Even if deaths in custody may not provide evidence of additional institutional racism, the use of tasers and police shootings certainly do, particularly when men of colour are seen as a group.

There were 16 killings, 15 of which have completed IPCA reports. The IPCA is more likely to find no problems with police procedures than to identify concerns, let alone recommend any changes in procedures. Racism or colonisation is not addressed in any report as a causative factor.¹⁴ Ethnicity is not identified in IPCA reports or media coverage for four of the 16 people. This may indicate the people

concerned are Pākehā, but there is no certainty. Ethnicity is noted in passing in several IPCA reports rather than because it is a requirement. Media coverage sometimes includes ethnicity, most often when family members of the person killed have concerns of racism. Given these limitations, I could identify twelve of the sixteen shooting victims as men of colour. The fact that finding this information requires trawling through media coverage and reports is significant in itself.

Including the use of force and lethal force by New Zealand Police strengthens the case for institutional racism beyond the "small, cumulative" acts already well-documented. Even if deaths in custody may not provide evidence of additional institutional racism, the use of tasers and police shootings certainly do, particularly when men of colour are seen as a group. Knowledge of institutional racism and

FINDING A FUTURE FOR WOMEN IN GREEN TECHNOLOGY

MARIA

Today, as throughout all of history, women are paid less than men for performing identical tasks in the workplace. In some instances, they are almost completely barred from entering into their chosen profession. The tech industry is one such example of a space in which where both jobs and prestige are disproportionately held by men. In this field, women continue to face hurdles, both in securing entry-level positions and in gaining the recognition they deserve once they secure a more advanced role.

A number of high-profile cases have drawn attention to tech industry gender discrimination. The best known case may be that of Ellen Pao, who worked for venture capitalist firm Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers in Silicon Valley. She filed a lawsuit¹ against her former employer, stating that she was unjustly passed over for

promotions, sexually harassed, and ultimately fired. Although that lawsuit was eventually dismissed, it continues to draw attention to the more important issue at hand. In another case, former Facebook employee Chia Hong² filed a lawsuit against the social media giant for race and gender-based harassment. Female tech workers have repeatedly noted that they are judged for their personality rather than their work performance, which should be a red flag in ANY industry.

Though small in number, there are several companies echoing these women's voices for greater equality in tech specifically. An American company, PowerToFly³, was launched by a pair of mothers who recognized the need for home-based opportunities for women. The company provides women with networking opportunities and online support, challenging the

cultural norms that dictate a working woman's family life. A non-profit company known as the Ada Initiative also offers support for women around the world interested in open source coding and technology. Beyond its efforts at home in Canada, the Ada Initiative has run six AdaCamps in four countries. This feminist tech camp opens doors for hundreds of women each year that may have otherwise stayed permanently shut.

Supporting women's involvement, investment, and leadership in tech careers is crucial, and this is particularly evident in the "green" tech sector. While there are several big names making corrective action- Lisa P. Jackson, for example, who works for Apple as vice president of Environmental Initiatives, is a former American EPA administrator with a strong track record in sustainability efforts- we are

is support from large philanthropic trusts: “While the [prison industrial complex] overtly represses dissent, the [non-profit industrial complex] manages and controls dissent by incorporating it into the state apparatus” (Smith 2009).

Funders have influenced the direction of movements using grants, leadership courses and career pathways to lure activists into service delivery rather than movement building, and to change the focus of organisations from structural change to individual relief, from revolutionary to reformist goals. It becomes harder to fight the structures of power when we depend on their money.

For example, when we see children going to school hungry, a service model would focus on how to get the money to feed the children. This is a simple solution, but by positioning ourselves outside the community, we risk framing children as the problem and the State as the solution, whereas State and capitalist violence are the actual problems. A revolutionary model recognises these communities as experts on poverty and State violence. Who better to dismantle oppression? We need solutions that meet our immediate needs, and that also move us towards that goal. This requires community mobilisation.

“To radically change society, we must build mass movements that can topple systems of domination, such as capitalism. However, the [non-profit industrial complex] encourages us to

think of social justice as a career. . . . However, a mass movement requires the involvement of millions of people, most of whom cannot get paid. By trying to do grassroots organizing through this careerist model, we are essentially asking a few people to work more than full-time to make up for the work that needs to be done by millions” (Smith 2009). The service provider model has taken power away from collective organising, and invested that power with funders and service providers.

Each of these three examples has led to new ways of organising. Together, they show that those most oppressed have the most effective strategies for dismantling oppression, and that the more we reflect and talk together about our experiences and dreams for the future, the sooner we’ll get it done.



(For further reading, see *The Color of Violence*, *The Revolution Starts at Home*, and *The Revolution Will Not be Funded*, all published by South End Press)

its location in police use of severe and lethal force needs to inform all liberatory political agendas seeking to be intersectional – whether that be discussions of how to respond to gendered violence, attempts to address the criminalisation of people living in poverty or resistance to queer people’s experiences of homophobia, biphobia and transphobia. It also makes clear that any attempts to provide New Zealand Police with increased access to firearms – which continues to be on the agenda of NZPA spokesperson Greg O’Connor – should be resisted by those calling themselves anti-racist. I hope the information gathered here contributes to further discussion and action.

Dedicated to those targeted by police racism, including family, whanau and communities who have lost loved ones due to lethal violence.

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ORGANISING AGAINST ALL OPPRESSIONS

KIM MCBREEN

ORGANISING AGAINST VIOLENCE

Talking and thinking critically about our experiences, goals and strategies are important parts of organising. All of our activism must be consistent with our long term goals, but there are often contradictions. This article will look at examples of short term approaches moving us further from our long term goals, and alternative paths suggested by US group INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. Focusing on the experiences of women of colour exposes many contradictions in common approaches, allowing more holistic strategies for dismantling oppression.

Whether it is patriarchy, the criminal justice system, colonisation or poverty, oppression is violence. And these oppressions interact. When we treat oppressions separately, we ignore that their interactions make some populations far more vulnerable to violence, and we risk contributing to that violence.

For example, when organisations working against family violence lobby the State to bring in harsher punishments, they ignore the combination of patriarchy, white supremacy and classism within the criminal justice system. The result entrenches existing power structures and actually increases violence against those most vulnerable by increasing their exposure to the State.

Where organisations working against prisons focus on the experience of men in the criminal justice system, they ignore the different experiences of marginalised genders in that system, as well as the need for real community safety and accountability. Again this only entrenches existing structures of power. Such organising is both unappealing and dangerous to those who know most about oppression.

US prison abolition groups Critical Resistance and INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence argue that anti-violence and prison abolition movements must come together to fight all violence:

“activists/ movements that address state violence often work in isolation from activists/ movements that address domestic and sexual violence. The result is that women of color, who suffer disproportionately from both state and interpersonal violence have become marginalized within these movements. It is critical that we develop responses to gender violence that do not depend on a sexist, racist, classist, and homophobic criminal justice system. It is also important that we develop strategies that challenge the criminal justice system and that also provide safety for survivors of sexual and domestic violence. To live violence free lives, we must develop holistic strategies for addressing violence that speak to the intersection of all forms of oppression” (INCITE & Critical Resistance 2001).

Our communities desperately need strategies that make all of us safer, but



ORGANISING AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY

our work to dismantle one oppression must not strengthen another. By bringing our understanding of oppressions together to see how they reinforce each other, we are better able to tear them all down. Uniting anti-violence and prison abolition organisations has resulted in a new approach based on building community accountability, and has created a new movement. There have been several books, huge conferences, and now many organisations tackle violence in a holistic way based on this work.

Andrea Smith (2006 and 2010) looked at ways that white supremacy pits communities of colour against each other, giving them a stake in racism. She identifies three pillars supporting white supremacy in the US: Capitalism depends on the logic of slavery. Slavery commodified Black people. “[T]he capitalist system ultimately commodifies all workers: one’s own person becomes a commodity that one must sell in the labour market while the profits of one’s work are taken by somebody else. . . . [T]he logic of slavery applies a racial hierarchy to this system. . . . Anti-blackness enables people who are not black to accept their lot in life because they can

feel that at least they are not at the very bottom of the racial hierarchy—at least they are not property” (Smith 2010).

Colonisation depends on the logic of genocide, requiring Indigenous peoples to disappear. “[N]on-Native inheritors of all that was indigenous—land, resources, indigenous spirituality, or culture” (Smith 2006). Dying is the ultimate disappearance, but Indigenous people are also made invisible when they are not recognised as ‘really Māori’ because they don’t look or behave as we expect.

In the West, war depends on the logic of orientalism—specific peoples, nations and religions are framed as a constant threat. Our borders must be protected. New Zealand supports imperialist wars and frames ‘Asian immigration’ as dangerous. Both direct our attention from ongoing colonisation and other state violence.

“What keeps us trapped within our particular pillars of white supremacy is that we are seduced by the prospect of being able to participate in the other pillars” (Smith 2010). This has impli-

MODELS FOR ORGANISING

cations for how we organise against specific forms of white supremacy, such as colonisation, anti-immigration, and other anti-Asian, -Māori or -Pasifika racism. With limited knowledge of others’ experiences, we risk gaining small victories for one group, while entrenching white supremacy overall. We need relationships and accountability to other communities—solidarity that allows us to “check our aspiration against the aspirations of other communities to ensure our model of liberation does not become the model of oppression for others” (Smith 2006).

Liberalism has become so normalised, we often find ourselves fighting for a less awful system, rather than for a world we actually want. There are many ways that our energy is diverted away from dismantling oppression and towards making cosmetic changes to oppression.

A common pathway for activists is from organising on an issue, to developing an organisation or programme providing a much needed service, that then becomes increasingly dependent on external funding and state support, and therefore respectability. State funding is dangerous, but so too